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Security Council
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Provisional

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Wednesday, 30 November 1994, 5.25 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Cañas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1994/1344)

94-87294 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 5.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1994/1344)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. Members of the Council have before them the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, document S/1994/1344.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1360, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to a vote on the draft resolution before it.

Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): The situation in Rwanda is once again before the Security Council. This relates to the trauma which Rwanda has had to contend with in the aftermath of the incident of 6 April 1994. The consequences of that tragedy have remained far-reaching, the most important ones being the destabilization of the social structure, the dismantling of the apparatus of Government and the dislocation of the general population.

As we address the major question of refugees, both within and outside Rwanda, it is only appropriate that due cognizance be given to the human dimensions of the problem. In effect, therefore, whatever the international community can do in Rwanda must be people-oriented and people-centred, as well as designed to enable the Rwandese to live down their traumatic experiences and embrace the psychology and culture of accommodation and mutual tolerance so that Rwandese society as a whole can be rebuilt.

In this context, Nigeria welcomes the thrust of the current draft resolution, which seeks to renew the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for another six months, until 9 June 1995. Our major objective in the Council, which should be shared by the international community as a whole, is to assist Rwanda to put in place a Government that works and an administration that stretches throughout the entire country as one constituency in which all Rwandese can achieve their maximum potential, consistent with their abilities. Concurrent with such international efforts is the urgent need for the Government of Rwanda to continue and even accelerate its efforts to provide a climate conducive to the building of confidence among the people of Rwanda — all the people. In this respect, we are gratified to note that the Government is disposed to cooperate with the International Tribunal which is being set up to try those who may have been guilty of serious war crimes, including acts of genocide, committed in Rwanda. We encourage the Government to facilitate this judicial process in the spirit of accountability, equity, justice and national reconciliation.

An additional responsibility assigned to UNAMIR under the current draft resolution seems to us particularly useful as an enabling factor in confidence-building. This relates to the effort to establish and train a new, integrated national police force for the maintenance of law and order. In our view, a viable judicial system, supported by an effective civil and police administration, would in the short run assist the Government to put Rwanda back on its feet and enable it to pursue the goals of social and economic development.

For a society that has been ravaged and traumatized by an internecine civil war, the need for an adequate and sustained flow of useful information which would inform and educate the citizenry, devoid of impassioned and sensational reporting, cannot but be underscored. In this connection, we welcome the efforts to increase the capabilities in Rwanda of radio broadcasts, which are also designed to reach the refugee camps in neighbouring countries. We therefore urge the Government of Rwanda to extend cooperation to the United Nations and UNAMIR in this regard.

Finally, in the current efforts to assist Rwanda in grappling with its present situation, the international community must recognize that there is a crying need for the provision of adequate financial, technical and other concrete forms of assistance. It is within this framework that the recently established Trust Fund for Rwanda becomes not only legitimate but appropriate. We salute those Governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations which have contributed generously towards relief and other forms of assistance to Rwanda. We encourage these countries and organizations to sustain and, indeed, increase their contributions commensurate with the enormity of the problems confronting Rwanda. More importantly, we call on other countries and organizations which have not done so to make their contributions accordingly. No doubt, a country in travail remains grateful to those who have managed to come to its assistance in its most difficult moments.

My delegation fully supports the content, purpose and objective of the present draft resolution, and we will gladly vote in favour of it.

The President: I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1360 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 965 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): France voted in favour of the resolution extending the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) until 9 June 1995. It believes that the maintenance of the United Nations operation in Rwanda is necessary to enable the country to regain stability. For us the operation is also an indispensable guarantee for the return of Rwandese refugees and their reintegration into their country.

We also welcome the deployment in the country of human rights observers, the number of which is to be increased to 150 by the end of the year. France intends to take an active part in that work, which should help to restore trust among refugees who have already returned to Rwanda.

As emphasized by the Secretary-General in his report on UNAMIR, we find encouraging the statements made by the new Rwandese authorities to reassure expatriate Rwandese and to persuade them to return home. My Government hopes these efforts will be stepped up and that a just solution will be found for the question of the these refugees' recovery of the property they left in Rwanda when they fled to neighbouring countries.

We are aware that the Kigali Government has an extremely difficult situation to face today and that assistance from the international community is necessary to help them rebuild their country. For this reason my country has decided, together with its partners in the European Union, that a large amount of aid will be furnished to Rwanda without delay.

However, it is clear that the national reconciliation of all Rwandese does not depend solely on financial resources provided to the Government of Rwanda. We note in this regard that in his report the Secretary-General himself stresses,

> "While the lack of financial resources has been a major factor in impeding activities towards national reconciliation, there are some reasons to believe that the Government could do more, even within its meagre resources, to ensure that all Rwandese are part of the political process." (*S/1994/1344, para. 9*)

We hope this appeal will be heeded.

By the same token, we encourage the new Rwandese Government to step up its cooperation with UNAMIR so that the latter can very soon start broadcasting messages to encourage the refugees to return.

France has consistently condemned the actions conducted by the militias in the camps to dissuade refugees from returning. However, it is clear that in order to counteract the harmful influence of those militias, which are guilty of the worst atrocities in Rwanda, trust must be fully restored in Rwanda. It is

also essential that the Security Council act promptly and take the necessary decisions to resolve the security question in the camps.

The implementation of these two points — restoration of trust in Rwanda and security in the refugee camps — will make it possible for the international community to continue to commit itself fully to a settlement of the Rwandese crisis by promoting the repatriation of the refugees, which is an indispensable prelude to the reconciliation of all Rwandese.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): We believe the Security Council has just made two very important decisions about the situation in Rwanda. One was the presidential statement on the security situation in the camps outside Rwanda. The other was the resolution we have just adopted renewing the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a further six months. The Council's actions deal with two critical and related matters. It is thoroughly appropriate that they have both been adopted today, but it was equally appropriate, too, that they were the subject of distinct Council actions.

We believe that UNAMIR continues to have a vital role to play in ensuring security for persons at risk in Rwanda and also in the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction in that country. The most visible problem facing Rwanda at present is of course the large number of refugees outside the country and the displaced persons inside the country. It is imperative that these people be encouraged to return to their homes and villages as soon as possible, but a fundamental concern for all these people is whether it will be safe for them to do so.

As was reflected in the presidential statement adopted in the Council on 14 October, UNAMIR's neutral and independent presence is crucial to creating the conditions of security which the returnees need. Thus, we attach great importance to the first task, which is reiterated in the first part of UNAMIR's revised mandate and is set out in paragraph 3 of the resolution. But as the Secretary-General's two recent reports confirm, the situation inside Rwanda is dire. The new Government inherited a situation of almost complete collapse. The national and local institutions that used to govern and hold Rwandan society together have either collapsed entirely or have been so stripped of resources that they can only function on the most rudimentary basis. Clearly, international assistance in providing relief and in getting reconstruction efforts under way is absolutely essential, and the protection that UNAMIR can provide to such operations under the second aspect of its mandate is equally vital.

The considerations just referred to are at the heart of the Secretary-General's recommendations about the situation in the refugee camps outside Rwanda, especially those in Zaire. That report makes it clear that the situation inside the camps is now so bad that urgent efforts are needed to re-establish security in the camps and to encourage the refugees sheltering there to return. The Secretary-General confronted the Council with some hard choices. The judgement of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, which my delegation shares, is that security will not be restored to the camps unless there is action to separate the genuine refugees from the influence of the political leaders and the military and paramilitary forces of the former Government.

The Secretary-General suggested, as the least forceful of the operations and the one he believed most likely to be effective, the establishment of a separate peace-keeping operation which would seek to establish security in the camps on a step-by-step basis. As reflected in today's presidential statement, Council members have decided that we need more information on the concept of operations for such a force and the likely availability of personnel before making a decision on this recommendation. My delegation does believe, however, that it is important to record that we do not believe that private security firms can play a useful role in this job. We believe that the financial, legal and jurisdictional issues that would arise would effectively make such a force unuseful.

I have to say that we also query whether a peace-keeping force alone can do this kind of task. We have no doubt that a military force may need to be close at hand, because the people in these camps who conducted the outrages in Rwanda in April and May of this year have proved themselves to be violent and capable of a military response. But we believe that the task to be performed in the camps is really a kind of police function and not a job for soldiers. We believe that there may need to be an operation which would be based on a police capability but with a military capability in reserve if necessary.

This leads us to a broader question, which is that of the role of the Prosecutor under the International Tribunal Statute which we have adopted. It seems to my delegation that the Prosecutor of the International Tribunal will want at an early stage to make investigations in these very same camps, and indeed, his

concerns will be very much with the same people that are referred to in the Secretary-General's report as needing separation from genuine refugees. If the Prosecutor is to carry out these investigations, he will need to interview such people, and to do so, he will need security and protection — and, indeed, we have already provided in the resolution we have adopted today that the Prosecutor and his staff would need security personnel to carry out their tasks within Rwanda, and my comment would be that they will need such personnel all the more so to carry out those tasks in refugee camps in Goma.

As we see it, the implementation of the resolution relating to the International Tribunal will of its own course inevitably lead the Council and the international community into the need to address precisely the issues that the Secretary-General has raised. Looking ahead, therefore, we would see a role for the Prosecutor, a role for an associated follow-up police function and perhaps also the need, for the protection of both of those, for a military force capable of protecting them.

Finally, I would like to say that we do query whether UNAMIR itself should be tasked with this military deterrent role. We fear that doing so may undercut its impartiality in Rwanda among the very refugees who, on their return to Rwanda, would rely on UNAMIR for their protection. In the minds of these refugees, and to encourage them to return to Rwanda, the perception of the impartiality and independence of UNAMIR will be of fundamental importance. It is for that reason that we think it is extremely important that the Security Council has today adopted this resolution to expand the mandate of UNAMIR and to extend that mandate for a further six months.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): My delegation was pleased to support the resolution just adopted extending the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a further six months. We believe that this operation is playing a crucial role in creating conditions of security in Rwanda through its neutral and independent presence throughout the country. We are glad that British troops have been able to play a constructive part in UNAMIR's work to this end over the past few months.

Today's resolution also draws attention to another very important part of UNAMIR's Mandate, namely, the exercise of its good offices to help achieve national reconciliation between all elements of Rwandan society. My delegation believes that without a political framework within which to address the key issues relating to national reconciliation, such as land tenure and property rights, it will be impossible to create the conditions within Rwanda which would allow the refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes. We hope that all concerned will cooperate in the establishment of such a framework as a matter of urgency.

The proposed regional conference could also play an important role in this context, and we hope that all concerned will work to ensure that it is held as soon as possible.

My delegation recognizes that, while it is clearly the responsibility of the Government of Rwanda to create the conditions within the country to enable refugees to return, and that the demonstration of a real commitment to national reconciliation is a key part of this, the Government of Rwanda does not have the resources to act alone. It needs urgent and substantial assistance in creating the necessary infrastructure. In this context I should like to draw particular attention to the recent decision of the European Union to make 67 million ecus of aid available to Rwanda for this purpose.

As the Council has just noted in its statement, a solution to the appalling problems of Rwanda and its people requires action both within Rwanda and in the camps outside its borders. The most immediate problem in the camps is the establishment of the minimum of security necessary for humanitarian relief to continue. After this there is still the more difficult challenge of creating conditions in the camps which will permit the refugees to return to their homes. The camps cannot and should not be allowed to become permanent, or to be used as bases for the further destabilization of the region. We note the reports of recent measures by the Government of Zaire to remove troublemakers from the camps. The Council has just asked the Secretary-General to give further thought to this issue. We will consider carefully any detailed proposals he may put forward. But any proposal for peace-keeping action put to this Council should be capable of being implemented smoothly and should, in principle, build on the cooperation with neighbouring States, particularly the Government of Zaire, which has recently been manifest.

In conclusion, we hope that there will be early progress on the establishment of a political framework for reconciliation and resumption of national political life. We hope the Council will also receive recommendations

on security in the camps which will enable the Council to take a further decision on this matter before long.

Finally, we will continue to do our part in international efforts to support the Government of Rwanda in its efforts to implement its policies of reconstruction and reconciliation.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has all along supported the international community in its unremitting efforts to resolve the crisis in Rwanda and has been deeply concerned about the increasingly worsening security situation in the Rwandese refugee camps in neighbouring countries and sympathized with the Rwandese people in their sufferings.

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has made tremendous efforts to alleviate the humanitarian crisis in Rwanda and promote its national reconciliation, thus winning acclaim and support from the international community, particularly from Rwanda and other African countries. The extension and expansion of UNAMIR's mandate by the Security Council in its resolution 965 (1994), which has just been adopted, has demonstrated the support of the international community, and the Security Council in particular, for UNAMIR to further its efforts of good offices to help achieve national reconciliation in Rwanda at an early date. The resolution has also emphasized that the international community should further support the Rwandese Government and encourage it to play a fuller role in creating the necessary conditions for the return of refugees.

We appreciate the tripartite agreement recently reached by the Governments of Rwanda and Zaire and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on the repatriation of Rwandese refugees. We sincerely hope that the parties concerned in Rwanda will earnestly implement the relevant resolutions of the Security Council with a view to achieving national reconciliation through political negotiations on the basis of the Arusha Agreement. Only in this way can the Rwandese people enjoy peace and stability again.

The Chinese delegation voted in favour of resolution 965 (1994). But I wish to make it clear that we have reservations about the elements in the resolution concerning human rights officers. We agree that UNAMIR should do its best to protect United Nations personnel in Rwanda, but the Chinese delegation has always held that United Nations agencies should carry out their duties respectively according to the mandates entrusted to them by the United Nations Charter and that therefore the Security Council should refrain from involving itself in what essentially falls within the terms of reference of other agencies.

Mr. Yanez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have considered with due attention the reports of the Secretary-General dated 18 and 25 November, respectively, dealing with the situation in the Rwandese refugee camps and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR).

The response of the Security Council to those two reports can be found in the statement which you, Madam President, have just read out on behalf of the Council at the meeting immediately preceding this one, and in resolution 965 (1994) just adopted. Both actions show the continued interest of the international community in helping the people of Rwanda to overcome the tragedy suffered in recent months following genocide in that country, as well as in contributing to stabilize the situation in the region.

The presidential statement comprehensively and precisely reflects the general feeling of members of the Council about the situation in the Rwandese refugee camps, in particular those located in Zaire, and mentions the priorities in trying to get under way a number of measures to guarantee security and the supply of humanitarian assistance to the camps, as well as to promote the free return of refugees to their places of origin. The situation in those camps is extremely sensitive and calls for urgent action by the international community.

My delegation therefore simply wishes to underscore the importance of the Council's knowing as soon as possible, with a view to taking a decision on the establishment of a possible peace-keeping operation, the results of the consultations of the Secretary-General with potential troop-contributing countries, as well as a detailed description of the objectives, the mandate, and the cost of such an operation.

Together with this, the Secretary-General should continue to examine, as appropriate, all possible means to face the problems that arise in the camps through appropriate cooperation between the international community and host States, as well as other States of the region.

These actions must necessarily be accompanied with parallel efforts inside Rwanda aimed at achieving national

reconciliation and reconstruction as the best way to stabilize the situation in the country and promote the return of refugees. We believe that the appropriate frame of reference for fostering such reconciliation is the Arusha Agreement; and we must also promote a mechanism to allow for fruitful dialogue between the Government of Rwanda and representatives of the refugees, with the participation of the United Nations and, as necessary, other regional organizations.

In like manner, the complex reality of the situation requires meeting the urgent needs of the Rwandese authorities so as to enable them to create the necessary conditions for the return of refugees and rebuild a country which at this time lacks a minimum of infrastructure for this purpose. The international community must be fully aware of this situation and must lend the necessary assistance, be it directly or through the Trust Fund established by the Secretary-General, as well as by providing resources for the Rwanda Emergency Normalization Plan prepared by the Representative of the Secretary-General.

Resolution 965 (1994), which we have just adopted unanimously, extends the mandate of UNAMIR for a period of six months. It reaffirms its tasks pursuant to resolution 925 (1994), including the important role of exercising its good offices to help achieve national reconciliation within the frame of reference of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

Likewise, it has been decided to expand the mandate of UNAMIR to include contributing to the security in Rwanda of personnel of the International Tribunal for Rwanda and human rights officers, and to assist in the establishment and training of a new, integrated, national police force. Spain, which participates in UNAMIR with an air transport unit, welcomes this decision, which shows the important role being played by UNAMIR in Rwanda, while adapting that role to new circumstances on the ground.

We wish to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and his Special Humanitarian Envoy to coordinate the United Nations response to the various aspects of the crisis in Rwanda.

We express the hope that during this new stage, the Government of Rwanda will continue to send its full cooperation to UNAMIR in the discharge of its mandate.

Spain is participating actively in the international efforts aimed at seeking and implementing solutions to help the Rwandese people overcome the tragedy it has recently endured. In fact, in addition to participating in UNAMIR, the Government of Spain is lending humanitarian assistance to refugees and displaced persons with an approximate value of $10 million. Here I wish to emphasize, not only the effort of the Government, but above all that of Spanish society, which has become mobilized as never before in any other emergency situation.

In the area of human rights, we are heeding the appeal of the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights by sending eight observers to Rwanda. We have also been actively supporting the action of the international community to help to restore justice after the terrible events that have occurred in Rwanda by making available and transmitting all the available documentation on the subject to the Commission of Experts set up under resolution 935 (1994). We have also dispatched two forensic doctors and two expert forensic police and will very soon send a prosecutor. The result of the investigations by these experts will be made available to the Commission and, in due time, to the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Tribunal for Rwanda.

We understand that all of this work as well as other contacts and bilateral assistance are part of the priorities set forth by the Security Council and the Secretary-General to help to bring about the necessary conditions inside Rwanda for the return of refugees and for stabilizing the situation in the country.

In this connection, we have also decided to contribute $500,000 to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the purpose of cooperating in the work of reconstructing basic services in Rwanda and the same amount to the World Health Organization for rebuilding hospital infrastructures in Rwanda.

Let there be no doubt about the fact that Spain fervently hopes to see the people of Rwanda emerge from the spiral of fratricidal hatred which has engulfed it in the past and begin to build a society based on democratic values and values of justice and solidarity.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): In the aftermath of massive crimes in Rwanda, the international community witnessed an exodus that was unprecedented in terms both of the number of people involved and of the very short period in which it has occurred. Today the violence

against the suffering Rwandese people occurs mostly in the camps located in neighbouring countries, where literally more than a million people have sought refuge in response mainly to a well-orchestrated campaign which combined ethnic hatred and misinformation to spread fear.

The Government of Rwanda must rebuild an entire country ravaged by war. It must create an environment that will attract its citizens back from refugee camps in Burundi, Tanzania and Zaire as well as resettle some 2 million displaced persons within its borders.

Although the situation in Rwanda remains bleak, some signs described in the report of the Secretary-General dated 25 November show that life is slowly returning to normal. That includes the resumption of some private-sector activities, the re-establishment of markets, the increase in agricultural activity, and the reopening of schools.

We are also somewhat encouraged by the recent developments in the political sphere. The Government continues to advocate reconciliation, peace and justice and has gone beyond mere rhetoric. We particularly welcome the incorporation of soldiers from the former Rwandese Government forces into the Rwandese Patriotic Army and the reappointment of local prefects from the former administration.

The renewal of UNAMIR's mandate until 9 June 1995 is an important step. The Brazilian delegation favoured the adoption of this extension as it is an expression of the support of the international community for the Rwandese Government and people in their struggle for national reconciliation.

Resolution 965 (1994), which we have just adopted, reaffirms that UNAMIR will continue to contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons and refugees, to provide security and support for the distribution of relief supplies and relief operations, and also to exercise its good offices to help achieve national reconciliation within the broad framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement. Furthermore, the mandate of UNAMIR has been expanded to include the security, within the territory of Rwanda, of personnel related to the International Tribunal for Rwanda and human rights officers deployed in the country.

We are confident that the Government of Rwanda realizes that it must take the necessary measures to prevent actions that might be counter-productive to the ultimate goal of political national reconciliation and to the return of all Rwandans to their homes.

We are concerned at the reports of increasing initiatives by the former Rwanda Government Forces in recruiting and training new troops in the refugee camps. As the Secretary-General states in his report, such activities lead to the concern that they are preparing for the resuming of confrontation, the tragic consequences of which are well known.

The international community should assist the Rwandese Government to alleviate the plight of its people. Security in refugee camps must be ensured, so that all Rwandans wishing to return to their homes may be allowed to do so in a climate of freedom and safety.

Means must be provided for the Government of Rwanda to function properly. The lack of resources is preventing the Government sector from being reactivated. The Secretary-General is quite right in pointing out that this has been a major factor in the Government's inability to translate public pronouncements concerning nation-building into concrete programmes and actions.

We have voted in favour of resolution 965 (1994) to extend UNAMIR because it represents the will of the international community to continue supporting national reconciliation, peace and political stability in Rwanda.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his reports of 18 and 25 November 1994 pertaining to Rwanda.

Unfortunately, the two reports present quite a disturbing picture. The fledgling Government of Rwanda is still acutely short of the resources needed by it to run a civilian administration, not to mention those needed for the massive task of reconstruction of the social and economic infrastructure of the country.

The situation has been infinitely complicated by what was reported to be going on in the Rwandese refugee camps, especially those in Zaire.

The efforts of the former Rwandese Government forces to recruit, train and equip a large force, and their intention to undertake military operations against the present Government of Rwanda, are to be deplored. Everything possible should therefore be done to stop and reverse the militarization of the refugee camps.

The Government of Pakistan fully sympathizes with the Government of Rwanda and would encourage it to continue, and indeed heighten, its endeavours to broaden

its base further. However, we also feel that the Rwandese Government should receive greater understanding and support from the international community, especially the donor countries. In our view, the foremost requirement from the international community at the present stage is to provide to the Government of Rwanda at least the minimum resources needed by it to perform its basic functions adequately. If this could be achieved, other possible measures relating to encouraging the return of refugees as well as a wider national reconciliation in Rwanda would acquire greater meaning as well as a better chance of success.

My delegation has supported the resolution just adopted, as we find it in full accord with our views. We accept the expansion of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), as spelt out in paragraph 3 of the resolution. However, it is for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to determine if the additional tasks being assigned to UNAMIR can be effectively carried out with the resources currently at the disposal of UNAMIR, or whether this would require any augmentation of UNAMIR's strength. The Council has, quite rightly, not prejudged this issue.

My delegation continues to extend its admiration and fullest support to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, as well as to all members of UNAMIR, for the effective manner in which its mandate is being discharged, despite the immense prevailing difficulties.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like at the outset to thank the Secretary-General for his two reports on the situation in the camps and on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). My delegation also takes this opportunity to thank Mr. Kofi Annan and his team, as well as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Kigali, those who are heading UNAMIR in Kigali, and the troop-contributing countries.

I should like to make my comments not on the military aspects of UNAMIR but on what the Government of Rwanda has achieved, thanks, *inter alia*, to the presence on the ground of the UNAMIR forces. As members of the Council know, the Government of Rwanda was established barely four months ago. During this rather short time, with no resources, this fledgling Government has been able to achieve the following.

The main task of the broad-based Government of National Unity, which was established in July 1994, was to tackle the enormous task of national reconciliation within the framework of the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

At the political level, all the elements of our society have been integrated into the various national institutions, with the exception of the elements implicated in genocide and other massacres.

I should also mention the incorporation of more than 2,000 soldiers of the former Rwandese governmental forces into the Rwandese Patriotic Army. I note, for the Council's information, that in 1990 the army consisted of 4,000 soldiers.

The Government has established a territorial administration that seeks to promote national reconciliation, as shown by the fact that all prefects except one are civilians and by the reappointment of two prefects from the previous regime.

The President of the Republic, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and other Ministers constantly urge reconciliation, peace and justice at major rallies organized throughout the country.

The National Assembly, which was recently established, includes all the political parties of the country, except one, including the parties of the army — and we note that one officer who was part of the former Rwandese Government Army is now a Member of Parliament representing the national army.

I turn now to economic, administration and social aspects. Various obstacles have been placed in the path of my Government's efforts and have prevented them from achieving results. We would like to mention the lack or insufficiency of the necessary personnel and resources. Many well-trained professionals were assassinated, mutilated or forced into exile. The looting of banks by the former Government forces, the destruction of economic, administrative, educational and social infrastructures, the dire state of our communications and of our energy system, the lack of drinking water — all these seriously impede the work of the Government.

All those handicaps explain why the Government is not able to implement its policy of national reconciliation and reconstruction.

For all those reasons, the Rwandese Government needs more bilateral and multilateral aid to enable it to live up to the expectations of national and international opinion *vis-à-vis* national reconciliation, the restoration of total peace, and the reconstruction and socio-economic development of Rwanda, which has been devastated by war. Since they desire to take responsibility for the development of the country themselves, the Government and the people of Rwanda deserve this manifold assistance to revive the national economy and to rebuild all the vital sectors of the country.

Although within the international community some willingness has been shown to assist Rwanda to rebuild the country, it is highly regrettable that some countries are having recourse to other impediments at their disposal to deprive Rwanda of the massive external assistance it needs. In their blocking manoeuvres, certain countries are demanding of the Rwandese Government that it do more than it is capable of doing — that it do the impossible — as a condition for receiving that assistance.

That is why my delegation wishes to ask the international community to denounce this attitude and to help Rwanda obtain urgently the major economic assistance that is so vital to the Rwandese Government and people. My delegation takes this opportunity to thank the States and organizations that have already heeded this appeal.

In conclusion, my delegation voted in favour of this resolution to show the support my Government wishes to give to the work of UNAMIR. But, once again, we wish to inform the members of the Council that the national priority is national reconstruction; less and less is the priority soldiers and weapons.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

The United States Government is pleased to have been able to support the resolution just adopted extending the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). UNAMIR has done an exceptional job in difficult and rapidly changing circumstances. We particularly wish to thank all the troop-contributing countries which have responded favourably to the Secretary-General's requests to participate in UNAMIR.

UNAMIR, the Force Commander and the Secretary-General's Special Representative have responded admirably to the evolving situation in Rwanda. But because the situation in Rwanda has changed since the Council last extended UNAMIR's mandate, it was necessary in the current resolution to clarify that mandate. We are well aware that UNAMIR has done an exemplary job of providing protection for all manner of international civilian personnel, whether involved in humanitarian assistance, investigation of allegations of genocide, monitoring of human rights or other necessary pursuits. However, the mandate was originally designed before the establishment of the International Tribunal for Rwanda and before human rights monitors were deployed by the High Commissioner for Human Rights. The renewed mandate therefore makes it clear that human rights monitors and Tribunal personnel are entitled to protection. We do not believe that additional UNAMIR personnel will be required to carry out these protection functions, which UNAMIR has already begun to perform.

The United States Government is making preparations to dispatch investigators, prosecutors and support personnel to work with the International Tribunal. It is important that UNAMIR provide security for all the Tribunal's personnel, as well as for their premises, to ensure that they can carry out their work effectively and free from fear for their personal safety. We are sure that UNAMIR will design security arrangements in close consultation with the chief prosecutor, the head of the human rights officers and the Government of Rwanda.

The civilian police component of UNAMIR has been functioning for some time. The Council encouraged UNAMIR, in the presidential statement of 14 October, to continue the activities of its civilian police observers. We reiterate that support in the current resolution.

We believe that UNAMIR can carry out these responsibilities within existing resources for the moment. If the Secretary-General determines that additional resources might be necessary at some time in the future, he should inform the Council. We can consider at that time whether to authorize additional resources.

In closing, let me thank the Secretary-General, the Secretariat staff here in New York and the personnel out in the field for their close monitoring and analysis of the various aspects of the Rwanda crisis, as reflected in the two long and complicated reports which they produced in the space of less than one week. We appreciate their efforts.

I resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.